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existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

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the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place.

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe.

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be.

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo, mataku*, lance

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hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use.

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds.

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple.

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 784 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4).

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing

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226 796 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 286 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho*. For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

● 226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena*. At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui*. There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena*.

[778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Analyst]

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226 open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *ñ'o*, which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

226 When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, *a*).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti*, to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho*, outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna*.

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *kuaho*, was reserved for the women

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share.

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished.

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned.

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle Fishing

In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

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KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaoa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net.

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fiifii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fiifii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills.

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octupus (*feke*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

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●226 stone was let down immediately over the octopus; the stone would attract its attention, and it would feel above for it with its arms. When a hook had taken hold of an arm the octopus was brought out of its hole with a sharp pull. Octopus was eaten both fresh and dried.

SPEARING THE RAY

The large ray fish called *fafa'ua* (*haha'ua*) was speared through one wing. This disabled the creature in such a way that it exhausted itself in trying to get away with one able and one disabled wing. The manner of preserving the flesh of the ray and eating it when partly putrified is described under Preparation of Food.

PORPOISE HUNTING

225 The bay named Vaiehu, in the island of Ua Pou, was the most famous for porpoise (*pa'a-oa*) fishing. The porpoise teeth used on head-dresses and necklaces came entirely, so far as modern informants know, from Ua Pou. At Vaiehu, when porpoises were sighted, many men would go out to seaward of them in canoes carrying stones. The stones were clapped together under water and the frightened porpoises were thus gradually driven toward the rocky shore of the bay, until they would rush and leap up on the shores, striking their noses on the rocks and, according to accounts, bleeding to death. Those that did not die in this way were dispatched with knives.

BONITO AND KUAVENA FISHING

226 The bonito (*atu*) was caught with the special rod and pearl-shell hook shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 18, *a*). Dordillon's manuscript speaks of a line made of *fau* bark and used with four hooks.

Dordillon describes the catching at Taiohae of the *kuavena*, a small fish about two inches long with a large, hard head. The men who were going fishing were obliged to fast from sundown and guard themselves against being contaminated by contact with breadfruit paste, women, or excrement of animals or men. At about three A.M. they went to the entrance of the bay with torches, by the aid of which the fish were lured and drawn gradually to the rocks that border the sea. Here they were caught by means of small nets on the ends of poles. According to Père Siméon (7), the chief fisherman ate in the early morning preceding the expedition, and slept all day. In the evening his limbs were rubbed with pigs' dung and he was carried on a man's shoulders to the shore to insure his not touching any impurity. If he had no one to carry him, he went in the day time.

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CATCHING PAOKO AND FLYING FISH

Paoko, small fish found in water holes in the rocks by the sea, were shot with the bow (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*) by both men and boys. Boys sometimes used slings for killing fish in holes. The woods used for bows were *koku'u* (?), *tuava* (*Psidium pomiferum*), and *toa*.

To catch *ihe*, flying fish, men went out by canoe at night with torches and, paddling about, caught the fish by means of a pole-net especially made for the purpose (fig. 18, *b*). When the fish was seen on the surface the net was slapped quickly over it upside down and then given a quick twist. The present descendants of the first native Hawaiian missionaries say that the natives of the Marquesas were taught this method by their fathers (the Hawaiians). Flying fish were eaten and used as bait for larger fish.

CATCHING EELS

Freshwater eels (*koee*) were sometimes caught at night by the aid of torches, being lured near the stream bank by the light and then flipped out on the shore with a stick having a hook on the end. Another method of catching them (probably used also for salt water eels) was by means of a snare. One person held a stick with a snare on the end of it, the string of which passed up along the stick. The snare was held under water, open, the stick being held in one hand, the snare string in the other. Another person then lured the eel into the snare by means of bait of some kind held under water on the end of another stick, so as to draw the eel through line. At the present time the favorite baits used for fresh water eels are rotten eggs and goat or chicken flesh. A kind of fish called *maha* furnished the best bait for salt water eels (*puhi*).

CATCHING SHELLFISH

The large marine crawfish, the meat of which resembles that of a lobster, were sometimes caught with a hook and line, but usually by men who dived for them from the rocks.

Crabs (*koitano, toetoe, tupa*) were sought in the rocks and on or near the shores at night by men and women carrying torches. They were caught with the hand.

Shrimps (*koua*) were fished for in the streams at night by torchlight or in the day time. They were caught by children with the hand or with the noose called *tona* (fig. 18, *e*) and were caught in larger quantities by women with small hand nets (*to'o* (fig. 18, *c*) or pieces of cloth. Shrimps were sometimes shot by boys with a small bow and slivers of bamboo.

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FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

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Ahu. Fishermen's shrine.
Aho. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auone. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Huitoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioe, kaimitito, kaimititoe, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

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Keviti. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.
Kohe atu. Rod for bonito fishing.
Kohuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.
Koka'oka. Net to carry fish.
Kotu. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.
Kounoka. Hook.
Kuahou. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.
Makao kou'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.
Mamai upena. Bottom of net.
Mata ve'o ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.
Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.
Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.
Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.
Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.
Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.
Nanao. Small package of fish.
Noupo. Fishing in the night.
Oho au fi'e na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.
Oho au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.
Oho au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.
Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.
Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.
Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.
Pa. Bonito hook.
Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.
Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.
Pa-oa. Seine.
Pati. To chase fish into a net by making a noise in the water. Also patitevo.
Pehi. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.
Peke. To fish with a line while swimming.
Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.
Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.
Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.
Pokae. Sinker on fish line.
Pokoe. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.
Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.
Putoki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.
Ta i te iha. To fish for the iha.
Ta i te upena. To make a net.
Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.
Ta'ake'a. Dart, harpoon.
Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.
Taiheka. Cords of a net.
Takau, or tanekau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.
Takikeka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koo'ka.

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Tatu'e. Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
Te ika hahe. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika kohuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'e. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tiitii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tivaivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
To'o. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
To'o pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tona. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Tove'e. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upe'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the matake (hammer-headed shark).
Upena iho. A small net for catching the kaoa, a small fish.
Upena kaoa or Upena iho. Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka fiti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutoki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ke'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Veivei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke,* a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

201 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise.

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual.

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds.

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

227 286 The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

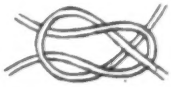

FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

● 226 227 The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either fau bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Maa:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohe to'o:** Same as *maa*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohe* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Paño:** Same as the *ho'ohe to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Paño Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Paño iho:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *iho*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(8) **Paoa:** A long seine of fau bark. This form could be used at Pua Ma'u, where the beach shelves gradually, but was useless in most localities. One end of the seine was carried out from the beach by men wading or swimming and then brought back to the beach again at a point 75 to 100 yards away. It was then drawn in from both ends, with all the fish within the circle trapped. Such seines were provided with light wood floats along the upper edge and stone sinkers on the bottom. 226 227

(9) **Fifi:** Probably the same as the *fi'ifi'i* of Dordillon's Dictionary, which he defines as a small net to catch turtles. According to native informants this was a very strong, large meshed seine made of cord twisted from the fiber of the coconut spathe. It was much wider than the *paoa* but like it was provided with floats and sinkers. The method of use was as follows: The net was set a short distance off any rocky place where the turtles were abundant, its line running more or less parallel to the shore. When in place, a number of men jumped into the water between the net and the shore and frightened the turtles, which, in their efforts to escape, became entangled in the net. As soon as it was evident from the movement of the floats that one had been caught a man dived down, disentangled the turtle, and tied it with fau bark cords, bringing it to the surface and giving it to the men in one of the canoes. The net was not drawn until the fishing was ended. From ten to twenty turtles were sometimes caught in this way in a single day.

(10) **Upena:** By far the most important of the Marquesan net forms. Descriptions obtained by Handy in Atu Ona and by the author in Pua Ma'u differ in some details. According to Pua Ma'u informants the cords composing it were made of fau bark twisted by rolling them on a smooth breadfruit log. According to informants of Atu Ona the cords were composed half of fau bark and half of plaited coconut fiber and were rolled upon the thigh. Both agree that at the time of rolling the cords were rubbed with a red earth called *ka'aea* which gave them a permanent color supposed to attract the fish. Ten men with coconut baskets were required to bring the earth for dyeing a single net. The net was woven by women skilled in the art under the direction of a *tuhuna upena*, the labor occupying twenty to thirty women for ten days or more. The work was carried on in a special house and was attended with various religious observances. In Pua Ma'u the *upena* was said to have been circular, about thirty feet across at the rim and decreasing gradually toward the bottom. The whole net was woven in one piece, the mesh being two fingers wide on the sides and somewhat less on the bottom. The upper end was held open by flexible poles or withes of *toa* wood placed about the circumference. The weight of the withes caused the net to sink. The net of Atu Ona is said to have been 30 to 36 feet square, tapering toward the bottom, which was finished by a special piece, "shaped like the crown of a hat," which was called *to'o pu'u*. Along the upper edge of each side was fastened a log of *toa* wood, to either end of which a line was attached.

The method of handling the *upena* appears to have been the same in both localities.

Four canoes set out about four hours before dawn with the net, two of these being large craft which carried eight men each, and two smaller, with a crew of three men each. When the fishing place was reached each of the large canoes put out four anchors, two at the bow and two at the stern. These anchors apparently were placed by the small canoes, one of which, called *tuca iti*, went to the east side while the other, called *tuca tuho*, went to the west. The net was then lowered between the two large canoes. When the net was submerged the *tuhuna* who supervised the fishing dived in and directed whether it was to be moved backward or forward. A skilled *tuhuna* was said to be able to see the fish under water and to hear them when they entered the net. When he considered the net full it was hauled up. The *upena* was drawn several times on a single trip.

Fishing with the *fifi* and *upena*, and probably with the *paoa*, was a community matter, and had associated with it elaborate religious observances. 226

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226 This probably holds good also for the organized fishing expeditions to offshore banks and desert islands in which hooks and lines were used. Ordinary fishing, on the other hand, whether with small nets or hook and line, appears to have been a matter of individual initiative. The community fishing was participated in by men only, while individual fishing was done by both men and women.

According to information obtained by Handy, a strong large-meshed net (*upena fi'ifi'i*) was used for catching the hammer-head shark, called by the natives *matake*. The cords of this net were dyed with red earth like those of the regular *upena*. The net was long, one end resting on the bottom while the other was held at the surface of the water by floats. A number of nets of this sort were set in a good locality and left for the sharks to be caught by the gills.

According to another informant, sharks were not caught in nets, but were taken by tempting them alongside a canoe with meat and passing nooses over the head and tail; the nooses were drawn taut and the shark was pulled on board and clubbed. It is probable that both methods were in use, being employed in different localities or for different species of shark. The flesh of the hammer-head was considered the best for eating, but even small tiger sharks are still caught and eaten by the natives.

Dordillon gives a term *auoa*, which he defines as "long braids of leaves to hem in fish." This probably refers to a seine of coconut leaves of the sort still commonly used in the Tuamotus for fishing in shallow water. This method is not used by the Marquesan natives at the present time and there are few places in the islands where it could have been employed. The Tuamotuan seines are simply long ropes of coconut fronds tied together in such a way that the leaflets project in all directions. They are used to surround sections of the reef or lagoon, being gradually drawn in until the fish are confined in a small compass. The fish are then speared. Whole villages assist in this sort of fishing, the seines being in some cases nearly half a mile long.

Octopi are commonly fished for by diving and thrusting a blunt pointed stick into the center of the arms. The animal twines its arms around the stick and is thus easily withdrawn from it hole. The use of octopus hooks in ancient times is doubtful, but according to one informant octopi were formerly caught with three hooks lashed back to back a short distance above which was attached a white stone. This grapnel was let down immediately above the octopus which was irritated by the stone and began to reach for it. As soon as one of the hooks had taken hold, the animal was drawn up with a quick jerk.

At least one form of fish trap is said to have been used in ancient times, but no description of it was obtained.

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

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captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Marquesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects